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*101 t) YEBÁ-MASÃ

1) People-Name-Language. -- Yebá-masã is their denomination in the mother tongue, although they do not know the meaning of this term (41).

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41. Lucas, the old Tukano from S. Luzia, as has already been said (IV-2, a), explained to Padre Antonio Giacone that Yepá-maxsã (as they say in Tukano) means gente-da-terra /people of the land/, and that the natives who reached the Papurí afterwards called the Tukano this. It is to be noted that Yepá, according to the legends, is the son of Bõxpó (the Thunder), and the Indians, with some religious notions, say that it is God, the Son. Koch G. (Z. I., 216) met on the Tiquié an Indian woman by the name of Inácia, of the Yepália tribe, with beautiful physiognomic features. Would it be another spelling of Yepá?

[773]

Their idiom is classified in the Tukano family, as it is shown by the Vocabulary (cf. Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical and Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia). In contrast to the Tukano, they are slender types, of medium stature like them or even shorter. Small face, tapering toward the chin. Physiognomy little or not at all Mongoloid. Coarser hair, black or dark, not lissotrichous, as generally befalls the natives of Brazil. At times they even exhibit slight waves. Dark eyes, nose low at the root, like the Tukano, but higher and finer tip. The men ordinarily have the ears pierced.

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With an insignificant mandioca-agriculture, they are principally hunters, and they live on wild fruits. For this reason the consumption of ipadú /coca/ is great among them (cf. VI - 4, 1 (4). They all use the hammock of 30 threads. Their festivals are frequent.

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263 According to the description by the Cônego /canon/ André Fernandes de Souza (end of the eighteenth century), the process was similar to that for the preparation of the lye for the manufacture of the "ash soap." That is: the plant was reduced to ashes, which were left in a water infusion in order for the salt to dissolve, and the latter, afterwards, through evaporation, would be deposited in the form of whitish crystals (p. 467 of the "Notícias Geographicas /Geographical Notes/," ap. Rev. do Inst. Hist. e Geogr. Brasileiro, Vol. 10 -- Rio de Janeiro, 1870).

f) Insects.

*192 • 222 252 262 [881]

1) Termites and ants.

a) Mexkɨ̃ (in Nheengatú maninuara, manivara) is the queen of a species of yellow termite, which comes out in abundance from the holes in the earth right after the rain. They eat them alive or roasted. It is the required food for the young men and women in the puberty rite.

b) In times of scarcity the women explore the ground with sticks in the places where they know that a type of manivara without wings, called exkó, probably exists. They come out in large numbers and are eaten alive, or after being roasted in small bundles of sororoca leaves.

/221/ c) They likewise eat the tanajura /large, winged ant/, dyɨ̃rɨ̃ (Uaupés dyɨ̃nɨ̃), and different species of ants, yamĩ-ka (night ant, because it comes out at night or early morning), dexpótyɨ̃ra (uarabá), duhúsɨ̃ (which come out in the afternoon), etc., when they come out of the ant nest. When they observe the clean openings and a great movement of ants, they prepare a platform at a height of half a meter above the ant nest. One can see an entire family posted on this platform, and as the tanajuras emerge from the ground, they are eaten raw, often also with the accompaniment of beijú or flour. When the emergence is very abundant, the tanajuras are collected in special baskets, in which they are later roasted.

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/221 cont./

d) They likewise eat, alive or roasted, the saúvas, byã̄-põrá (or põnã́; it means offshoot or broad, põrá, of the pepper, byá, because of their spicy flavor), and the termite, buxtwá.

2) Larvae.

a) At certain times of the year very many dark larvae about 3 to 4 centimeters in length appear on the plants of the jupará, ba'tĩ (erísma japurá, Spr.) and of the cunurí, waxpȭ (cunúria spruceana, Baill.), totally devouring their leaves. As soon as they perceive it, the Indians bring down the surrounding plants so that the larvae will not move on to other trees, and they are thus forced to go down by way of the trunk in search of food. At the bottom part of the trunk they make a ring with the leaf of the pocova sororoca (ohó pũrĩ), which is very smooth. The caterpillars, upon reaching there, slip and fall to the ground, being collected with sticks or strings into strainers, and are later slowly
[251] roasted on a mat at a certain distance from the fire. The quantity is so great that they can fill baskets, which are stored in the smoke chamber, in order to be consumed little by little.

Even when they do not discover it until the chrysalis stage, they cut off the branches loaded with cocoons, like a large ear of maize, and they toast them, it thus being easier to open the
[226] cocoons, as if they were shells of roasted peanuts. The chrysalis constitutes a greatly appreciated delicacy and is also used as bait for the fishhook. These larvae are called in Tukano bã́-tĩ-ỹa (louse? of the japurá) and waxpȭ-ỹa (louse of the cunurí).

b) Mẽ'rẽ̄-pãma is the Tukano name of a greenish-yellow larva similar to the silkworm, which feeds on the leaves of the inga tree (ingá édulis, Mimosáceae) and which is greatly appreciated, alive or roasted.

/222/ c) Besides the ones indicated, there are various other larvae sought for food, such as the ones called mẽ'rẽ̄-ka-pextorõã́, likewise from the inga tree; nixtỹã́, also from the cunurí; nextoã́, which lives in the tree of the same name; suxpi-sȭ, which feeds on the leaves of the acuaricuara (tiny red seeds); pixkõrõã́, from the pupunheira; sitá, from the tree called uxpísikarã̄.

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3) Caba (wasps). The Tukano word uxtyã, as well as the one of Nheengatú origin, caba, indicates various species of wasps or hornets (parachartécus apículis and others of the family of the Vespidae and Pompilidae). They eat the larvae with flour (53).

> 53. The process that they use is curious. Whenever they discover a case of caba, they rub the hand in the armpit and approach the case. At the smell the hornets flee, they then seize the case with the larvae, and the vespiary itself serves as their plate, where they put flour, which they eat with the larvae (information of the Missionary agronomist Teotônio Ferreira.)

4) Coleoptera and other animal foods.

a) They also eat certain species of grasshoppers and beetles, alive or roasted. There are years in which some beetles called úkasya (Nheengatú moxíua) appear in such abundance that they manage to fill many baskets and even large canoes.

b) Going through the forest one often finds areas that look as if they had been turned up by swine. It is because the Makú have passed through there, with a piece of wood, or even the hand, looking for grubs to eat.

c) They value especially certain species of small arboreal frogs called omã̄. Without even cleaning them, they smoke them or cook them with pepper. They likewise greatly relish a large terrestrial frog called tõhõã́.

d) A crab, sã̄'ã̄, from the igapós, or inundated areas, pleases them enormously. The Missionary Manoel Valério observed an interesting detail about this crab, that is: it makes its nest at the edge of the igapós, but at such a height that the fish do not eat its eggs. And so, by the height of the nests, one might foresee, year by year, the height of the water during the flood.

/222 cont./

147 Perhaps the Indian owes to the richness of Vitamin A, taken
262 in through the consumption of such a variety of insects and larvae, the admirable night vision that he enjoys.

/223/ g) Fruits.

*192 If the native diet is lacking in green vegetables and legumes,
245 many are the fruits that they eat.

252 1) Among the fruit trees cultivated, there come first five or
262 six varieties of banana, ohó; and they eat them raw, baked, or boiled and reduced to mingau. Even when they are still green, they eat them roasted in the ashes.

They are also fond of pineapple, sẽ'rá (Uaupés sẽ'ná), biriba, pixká, cashew nuts, sõ'rá (U. sõ'ná), and, more recently, the orange, darãnõ, avocado, ãõmõ, abio /Lucuma caimito/, kĩ'rẽ.

*192 2) The wild fruits that they know and eat are very numer-
• 222 ous. We shall recall some: õ'sé, cucura or mapatí (pouróuma
252 cecropiaefóliae, Mart.), one of the Moraceae very similar to the
262 imbauba, producing large bunches of fruits the size of a jabuticaba
[273] /Mouriria pusa/, which, when ripe, are dark, sweet, and mucilaginous, and, fermented, give a wine-like drink; mẽ'rẽ (U. mẽ'nẽ), wirí-mẽ'rẽ, various species of ingá (ingá cinamómea, marginata, édulis, etc., Mimosaceae); burukãña, maracujá /species of Passiflora/; õxtã-ãĩmĩ, cumĩ (fruit of the service tree); pãgá, another species of cucura; kenõ, jatobá /locust tree/; simiõ, uacú /Monopterix uaucú/; teheõ and ehyú-pu, varieties of piquia; thoá, yúa-pixuna; wamã, umarí; wfhĩ, paricá /Leguminosae/; extoá, cubio /Solanum sessiliflorum/; wextí, umirí; wikasoró, small white fruit; tohoá-kaxperí, omĩ-karperí, and ãerẽ, similar to the cumĩ.

3) And many species of palm nuts, more or less oily: ixkí, inajá; puxpyá, ucuquí; mĩx'pí, assaí; ĩ'rẽ, pupunha, for which they are eager; bextá, tucumã, which they like very much, ãĩmã (U. ãumũ), bacaba and patauá; etc.

/223 cont./

192 Assaí, patauá, and bacaba are small nuts, in bunches. Put
222 in hot water, the pulp that envelops them comes loose. This,
262 after being crushed and strained, is mixed into the chibé or into
252 the mingau, making it more nourishing and flavorful.

4) They also leave the umarí (paroquéiba /Poraqueiba/ paraénsis, Ducke) in water, after having sucked the sweetish yellow rind, in order for the stone to lose its bitter juice. They also customarily mix its yellow mass into the mingau.

245 5) The pupunha tree is an ornamental palm, straight, with
252 beautiful fronds, which they plant in all their povoados. Twice
262 a year it produces bunches of small red or orange nuts with a fari-
naceous and dry pulp. They eat them cooked in water. /224/
They like them so much that during this time they abstain from
245 other foods. Its pulp, diluted in water and left to ferment in
251 camotins for 24 hours, is transformed into a very tasty drink,
273 the pupunha caxirí, i'rẽ-kó.
[192] When there is a great abundance of this nut, they prepare a large quantity of the mass, and, in order to keep it during the year without spoiling, they dig a hole in the vicinity of the house, line it well with banana leaves, and there they introduce the mass, pressing it well in order to expel all the air, and afterwards they cover it further with banana leaves and a layer of soil a span or more thick. This mass will be used for preparing the caxirí for months.

222 6) Among the most sought wild fruits is the japurá, a
252 dicotyledon, like an almond, inside of a soft involucre. They
262 subject it to boiling, in order to eliminate the thin and bitter
[192] skin that covers it, and then crush it, producing a dark mass, with a sharpness that reminds one of Gorgonzola cheese (54).

54. Pe. José Monteiro de Noronha already reported that in 1759 in his "Roteiro de Viagem /Voyage Logbook/," p. 114: "The Indians will have put the name of Japurá on it (on a

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/footnote 54 cont./ river) because very common among the savages along it is a soft mass, black and with a very unpleasant smell, made from certain fruits called Yapurá (the name of the river is pronounced this way among the Indians) after they are spoiled, which is eaten with their bread or beijú, and with everything that they think suitable."

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They eat it with beijú or as seasoning for fish. When they make it in large quantities, they keep it in holes in the ground, like the mass of pupunha.

[784]

It is to be noted that the woman must not go to the toilet or even drink water, while she is preparing the japurá. Otherwise the mass would all spoil, they say.

g) /sic/ The cunurí, waxpõ, is also eaten roasted or boiled. After it is cooked, however, it must be left immersed in running water in order to lose the bitter flavor.

h) Drinks.

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The various drinks that the Indian makes are called, with a term taken from the Língua Geral, caxirí, in Tukano pêru. The term caxirí, or pêru baxsasé, also designates their feasts, which are always held with drinking bouts. Without the latter the former cannot be conceived.

The caxirí is similar to a beer or a fruit wine with regard to the taste (55);

55. "From the palm trees the Indians make a delicious wine," says Pe. Alonso de Rojas in his account of the voyage of 1637 (in "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 118).

4: Silva--361 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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/footnote 76 cont./ (Prefeito /prefect/ of Uaupés). And he repeated for us then the complaint that he had heard from the Indians: "The land is poor, it does not produce. Where are we going to find salt and clothes for our women?"

241 bring periods of scarcity. There can also be fixed every three or four years /248/ the period of hunger for these populations. The
241 indigenous conformism, the offshoot of indolence, ignorance,
731 and lack of ambition, the custom of the fasts, made obligatory
797 by the lack of food or imposed by traditions, the reserves of fruits that the forest provides, and sometimes, precisely in the season of the scarcity of flour, help the Indian to overcome this difficulty, which, by its frequency, indeed does not impress him. Nowadays he finds in the Salesian Missions relief for these periodic crises. During the times when their clearings do not supply them with mandioca for flour and beijú, the whole family, husband, wife, and children, runs to the Missionary centers. The parents will keep busy with some job, and, besides the daily pay they receive in order to acquire clothes and utensils, nourishment for themselves and all the children is assured.

7) Industry and trade.

177 We have already noted that among the tribes who live so close, in an environment with more or less identical natural resources, and bound together by marriage, and at times living in the same povoado, there is a cultural exchange in such a way that one tribe learns to make objects that formerly were made exclusively by the other and are still its specialty today, because it makes them better. From this exclusiveness in the production of certain objects, which correspond to the primary necessities of life, trade among the various tribes naturally followed. It
[438] seems that there is no trade within the tribe or maloca, because all of them know how to make the same things. Besides this, the communitarian spirit does not favor trade properly speaking.

776 /362 cont./
539 going away to my land, it is so beautiful... nothing is lacking
823 there"..., etc. He looked closely and saw that the cords of the hammock were sucuruju /anaconda/. At night the blonde girl appeared to him in a dream and told him: -- "Today I sang for you, and it did not please you."

776 d) Near Bela-Vista, on the river Uaupés, an alumna of
787 the Mission of Taracuá dreamed at night that she had amorous relations with a young man. Then in the morning, when she went to take a bath, she saw close to her a blowing bouto, throwing itself about in the water, agitating it, and wanting to have relations with her. The young woman also heard shots under the ground, smelled the perfume that the "bouto" youths use. She even felt a desire to go to live with the boutos forever.

776 5. /sic/; e)/ -- Patrícia Vasconcelos tells that her grand-
[115] mother was still a young woman when she went looking for turtle
• [222] eggs on a beach near Pinú-pinu (river Uaupés) with other girl companions, among them one who had just finished the puberty initiation rite. They started to dig in the sand and found many eggs. At a certain point, however, the sand started to sink with a great noise, and the newly initiated girl disappeared. A little later the sand reappeared. The mother of the maiden who had disappeared went to look for her, shouted everywhere, but the
* [192] maiden never returned. The poor mother then understood that the waí maxsã had stolen her daughter: "waí maxsã mĩsa-wapã yõõ maxkõ-ré, the fish people came to get my daughter."

2) Magic practices.

823 a) Places. -- There are places (the most remote parts of the forests, caves, headwaters of the igarapés) where they should never go. If by chance they pass in the vicinity of these places, they will turn their faces to the opposite side.

There is a lake below the Ira-igarapé (middle Uaupés); the old ones did not look at it, in order not to have a weak and whining child.

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621 /footnote 2 cont./ Nheengatú-Portuguese
476 vocabulary, points out: -- "Aiuri. It is the same as what is called mutyrum on the lower Amazon."

527 With the high waters the piracema, that is, the schools of
221 fish that go up to spawn, occur. During the low waters the fish
226 of the igapós want to return to the rivers. During these periods the "large-scale fishing" takes place, which is a collective task, a sport, and a feast at the same time, as we have indicated (VI-a(1) /see p. 341/).

221 At different times of the year great quantities of insects
222 appear, larvae or flying, whose capture and preparation alter the
527 daily rhythm of life.

The trees yield fruit in different seasons, in which the Indian will get more abundant harvests; and from many he will prepare flavorful drinks, invariably consumed amidst music, songs, and dances.

527 /483/ Besides these "feasts of the trees" or "of the fruits," annual and regular, others will not be lacking, due to the birth, initiation, marriage of some member of the group. There will perhaps be some dead person to lament with the social wailing and the funeral feast of tradition.

484 An index of a nomadic character, during the year opportunities for trips of amusement will occur. They will be in search of a bride, for reasons of trade, to make fishing expeditions, Poose to which they were invited, visits to other malocas, even to those of a tribe different from the one to which he is connected by affinity. And the Indian, with his whole family, hammocks, aturás, and other gear, and even some small dog, fills up one or several canoes and goes on for hours or even days looking for other povoados where they will spend carefree days or weeks (3).

797 3. Nowadays two or three times a year the
527 Indians of the different povoados, move to

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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133 The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire
[484] river can be traversed downstream in two days and upstream in four.
[502] The Vaupés, the main stream, is a mighty river, also swift, rocky, and guarded by cataracts than can be perilously "shot" in high water and portaged at other times. It is a deep river with distant banks, in places resembling a sea.

361 During the two "dry" seasons, *ihíbo* (October–December, February
132 and March), the Indian communities are perched on high banks, in
[317] many places clayey and sources of ceramic clay. Access is difficult;
[417] the steep, often slippery slopes are hard to manage unless the people have troubled to provide wooden steps or a handrail. At the height of the June, or great, rains, the flood reaches to the clearing, and the river is brought close. A community with its plantations is then an island, the low-lying country a vast lake.

221 The Cubeo are more pleased with low water than with high. High
132 water, to be sure, does not threaten cultivations, which are always on high ground, and flooding facilitates river travel, yielding shorter routes over ordinarily sinuous turnings of the river. But the seasons of high water (*ilákoro*) (May–August and January) bring relative scarcity even though bitter manioc is an unfailing crop. Fish and game are then most difficult to catch. At the bottom of low water, fish are scarce but game, drawn to the dwindling streams, is now abundant. The peak seasons, when game and fish are both abundant, are after the beginning of the rains, when the rivers are filling in November, and at the conclusion of the rains in July, when the rivers have begun to fall off. The Cubeo render *ihíbo* as summer and *ilákoro* as winter. They also refer to seasons as *kwaíno* (falling river) and as *eddáwaiya* (growing river).

221 Thus, while the Cubeo normally do not experience famine or,
261 for that matter, serious deprivation at any season, the periods of
132 glut are short, one falling roughly between October and December, and the other a minor dry season between February and April. During these seasons fish need only be scooped out of the drying streams, game – tapir, peccary, deer, capybara, and paca – crowds the river banks, and the manioc yield is at its peak. These are favorable seasons for ceremony – initiation into the ancestral cult, fish dances, deer dances, mourning rites, and the most frequent round of drinking parties.[1] The seasons, however, lack abruptness. The rains increase and then decrease. Neither economic nor ceremonial life need be
824 precisely geared to a season.
222 While the Cubeo are a true riverine people, knowledgeable about
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[1] The year is reckoned from the dry season, since this is the time when manioc gardens are extended or new clearings started.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals — the tapir in particular — is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

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Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

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The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

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Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aũnhokũ* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwũ*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Húbũkokũ* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turú* (poison), another *pudjú* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapíka* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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animals. When the animals had been butchered, the wives of the married hunters and the mothers of the unmarried hunters carried off the first cuts of meat, the internal organs, and scraps. (The stomach and intestines are not eaten and are thrown immediately into the river.) Each woman took the meat from the animal belonging to "her" man and boiled it at her own hearth. Then all the boiled meat was heaped upon clean banana leaves at the household of the mother of the older unmarried hunter. She was an old woman no longer a part of the household of her husband. She was chosen to be honored by her son because of her ordinarily underprivileged situation. The entire community was invited to eat. The hosts and their households took a portion of this meat aside and ate alone, to emphasize clearly that they were givers. When this meat had been eaten, portions of the remainder, haunches, were distributed to those households that did not ordinarily provide animal game, in this case the household of a widow and the household of an old man. The older woman who had been honored gave, on her son's behalf, to the widow; the elder of the hunters presented a haunch to the old man. The greater part of the meat was appropriated by each hunter's household for smoking. This meat belonging to its respective hunter was then shared with the rest of the community at the collective evening meals. Each of these households, however, had the privilege, of course, of eating as much of the meat as it wished at any other time.

Wild fruits, grubs, and ants, that is to say, foodstuffs foraged by women, are consumed more informally. Fruits are simply heaped upon the floor of the maloca to be eaten at will. When women bring in grubs and ants, that are commonly roasted on the communal manioc oven, those who wish to join the informal feast gather about the oven and help themselves. Foraged foods are not regarded as meals but as tidbits. There is still another form of informal eating. When a man returns home from any strenuous activity he is immediately given some food by his wife or mother.

Food has symbolic significance for all people. The Cubeo always attach social meaning to the exchange of food. Food does not pass casually from person to person merely as a means of assuaging hunger. People visiting other sibs carry food with them because unless they are drawn into the life of the host sib in such a way as to give them true family status they cannot count upon being fed. The *Bahúkiwa* were endlessly annoyed with me because a visiting trader or labor recruiter could count on having a meal with me. "Why do you feed him when you don't even know him?" they would ask incredulously. For some time thereafter the attitude toward me would be one of re-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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769 796 taboo but as a courtesy. When the ancestors paused, the youngsters went back to the canoe landing to bring up the berries. When the boys left, the ancestors sounding the trumpets circled the maloca [614] counterclockwise, going from the front door to the rear door. When they returned to the front plaza again, men of the subsib who had arrived as guests came out of the house, and taking over the horns, they circled the outside of the house, sounding the instruments to all corners of the clearing. They re-entered the house and a new group, men from a related sib, came out and took the horns from them. As each group completed its circuit of the house it re-entered and was given pupunha chicha.

All the men had had their turn with the ancestor horns when the boys trudged up the path in single file, each holding out before him [222] [857] a tray piled high with berries. Young boys normally provide fruits and berries for the community, as part of playful foraging in the forest. Women sometimes bring in fruit, but in the main such gathering is left to the boys. I assume therefore that the boys at the initiation are ritualizing a traditional role. They bring fruit to the maloca, not to the ancestors, who are *givers* of benefit and not receivers. By the same token, the offering of the youngsters is at this point ritually recognized. The boys set the trays down on the dance floor of the house. Then the men of the house returned to the canoe landing to bring up the heavy bundles of *konhá*. The seven initiates in the meantime were asked to occupy the long guest bench near the door. [273] When the men had deposited the last bundle of *konhá* they gave to each boy a calabash of pupunha chicha as though he were being received as a guest, and they passed among the boys the ceremonial cigar, as another acknowledgment of honored adult status.

[273] [276] When the youngsters had consumed their portions of chicha and had puffed self-consciously at the cigars, they helped the men unpack the *konhá*, arranging all the berries into eight trays and setting them along the rear of the house, the women's quarter. While the trays were being set out, a solitary dancer sounded *Buñi* throughout the house.

[413] When the berries were in place the *Buñi* dancer put aside the horn and began to prepare a switch *(hardowu)* that he had picked at the water's edge.[4] The switch is from a bush that grows quickly, and is wound with sturdy kumari twine. The boys withdrew to the guest bench where they huddled nervously, watching the switch being pre-

[614] [4] Some sibs have a more or less permanent switch that is beautifully plaited and tipped with seed beads. Whipping is called *harathume (haraí:* to strike; *humé:* bitter, unpleasant).

6t Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

249 462 spend the greater part of the morning collecting the leaves which they prepare during the afternoon and evening. It is a serious task and one which each man undertakes with a strange air of concentration. Each coca plant is selectively stripped leaf by leaf before the next one is tackled. The headman carries the basket with him and gradually it fills with handfuls of pale sage-green leaves. The younger men collect the leaves almost reverently in their right hands before emptying them into the basket, their faces serious, their crouched bodies shining in the strong morning sun, their short, clipped speech broken occasionally by a high-pitched laugh.

512 244 462 85 In the distance small ribbons of smoke rise in a misty cloud. The women are just visible, their squat figures crouching among the manioc plants. They can be heard laughing; occasionally a baby cries and the children romp and play among the bright-green manioc plants whose tall spindly branches stretch skywards some six feet, terminating in clusters of long, thin, starlike leaves. With their babies straddled across their backs the women spend the morning cutting out the long potato-like roots from the sandy soil and putting the waste foliage into piles to be burnt. It is hot with the sun streaming down, the fires crackling and the smoke enshrouding the working bodies. There is little time for rest, though a woman will stop to swing her child around and let it suckle her breast; a mother may give a fat yellow beetle grub to her child to eat, having detached the head – a great delicacy, tasting like butter. Soon large baskets are filled with roughly peeled and half-cleaned roots.

512 [482] The sun is high overhead and the men leave for the *maloca* with their basket full of coca leaves; on top they place large dried leaves from the *yarumo* (Cecropia) trees which grow like weeds in the *chagra*. The women too load their heavy baskets on to their backs, the headbands taking the greater part [222] of the fifty-pound weight. The whole group hurries through the forest in silence, passing the old *chagra* where the headman's wife leaves the other women to collect pineapples, then down to the stream beneath the *maloca*. At this point comes one of the noisiest and most amusing incidents in their [515] daily life. Not only the manioc roots are washed in the water but the babies [85] too; the mothers vigorously shake their large baskets of roots, then stop to splash water over the backs of the children. For a short time there is cacophony, with screaming babies, splashing water, continuous chatter and laughter, and even barking dogs. But soon the stream is left to myriads of white and brimstone-yellow butterflies which circle everlastingly over the sandbanks, and the women, refreshed, their long black hair glistening in the sun, return up the path to the *maloca*.

Tobacco plants are nearly always grown in a little patch directly in front

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A graceful Tukano canoe.

[see p.66-A]